

Message Text

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O 061330Z MAY 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3459
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 NATO 02778

DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR EUR/RPM AND A; LONDON ALSO FOR A/COUNS
AND WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE TEAM

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC
SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE: COMMENTS ON REVISED
DRAFT TEXT

REF: (A) STATE 101938, (B) STATE 101939, (C) USNATO 2669,
(D) USNATO 2464 (NOTAL), (E) USNATO 2750

SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOW OUR COMMENTS ON THE MAY 5 SENIOR
POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC) DISCUSSION OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND
ON THE REVISED DRAFT (TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL) THAT EMERGED
FROM THIS MEETING. THE REVISED DRAFT WILL BE REVISED AGAIN
BY THE SPC ON MAY 9 IN LONDON. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SPC REVIEWED ON MAY 5 THE INTERIM DRAFT OF THE COM-
MUNIQUE (REF C), SUCCEEDED IN REDUCING THE NUMBER OF
BRACKETED PASSAGES, AND PREPARED A NEW REVISED TEXT (SEP-
TEL), WHICH IS THE FINAL DRAFT TO BE PREPARED AT NATO
HEADQUARTERS. THE SPC IS SCHEDULED TO REVIEW THIS REVISED
DRAFT AT A MEETING TO BE HELD IN LONDON BEGINNING 2:30 PM
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MONDAY, MAY 9, AT LANCASTER HOUSE. THE MEETING WILL RECESS
AT 5 PM, WHEN INTERNATIONAL STAFF MEMBERS WILL ATTEND SYG
LUNS' PRESS CONFERENCE, AND WILL RESUME IN THE EVENING OF
MAY 9. THE OBJECTIVE AT THAT MEETING WILL BE TO RESOLVE
OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES REPRESENTED BY REMAINING BRACKETS
AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A FINAL TEXT. THE REVISED DRAFT
(SEPTTEL) IS AD REFERENDUM, AND SOME ALLIED SPC REPS MAY

BE INSTRUCTED TO ADVANCE ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS FOLLOWING REVIEW OF THE REVISED TEXT BY THEIR AUTHORITIES. ANY OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS THAT CANNOT BE RESOLVED AT THE MAY 9 SPC MEETING WILL HAVE TO BE SETTLED MAY 10, FOLLOWING FINAL REVIEW BY ALLIED AUTHORITIES.

2. WE HAVE INFORMED THE SPC CHAIRMAN, ASSISTANT SYG JUNG, THAT USNATO SPC MEMBER WILL NOT BE PRESENT IN LONDON. JUNG HAS REQUESTED THAT HE BE INFORMED WHO WILL REPRESENT THE US AT THE MAY 9 SPC MEETING.

3. AT THE MAY 5 SPC MEETING US REP CONFIRMED (PER REF A) US LANGUAGE ON PROPOSED US INITIATIVES AND INDICATED THAT MAIN THEMES OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WILL BE ALONG THE LINES DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON. US REP ALSO INSISTED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE THREE PROPOSALS BE REFLECTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE AND DEFENDED PREFERRED US FORMULATIONS AS DESCRIBED IN DETAIL BELOW.

4. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE MAY 5 SPC MEETING ARE KEYED TO COMMUNIQUE PARAS IN THE REVISED DRAFT TEXT TRANSMITTED SEPTEL:

--PARA 3, THIRD SENTENCE. THE MAJORITY OF SPC REPS SUPPORTED FRENCH REP'S DESIRE TO RETURN TO PHRASE "FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE AND FOR DETERRENCE", WHICH APPEARED IN EARLIER INTERNATIONAL STAFF DRAFT (REF D).

--PARA 3, THIRD SENTENCE. INTERNATIONAL STAFF PROPOSED INCLUDING A LENGTHY PASSAGE ON CIVIL DEFENSE TO REFLECT

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MINISTERIAL "GUIDANCE FOR CIVIL EMERGENCY PLANNING" TO BE APPROVED UNDER ITEM V OF THE NATO SUMMIT AGENDA (REF E). THE SPC REDUCED THIS PASSAGE TO PHRASE "AND A GREATER DEGREE OF READINESS IN THE CIVIL SECTOR". SOME SPC MEMBERS NOTED THIS PHRASE WOULD PROVIDE A PEG FOR SYG LUNS OR OTHERS WHO MIGHT WANT TO COMMENT ON THIS MATTER IN BRIEFING THE PRESS.

--PARA 3, FOURTH SENTENCE. MAJORITY OF SPC MEMBERS STRONGLY SUPPORTED INCLUDING PASSAGE "TO ASSUME TO THE BEST OF THEIR CAPABILITIES THE BURDENS THIS ENTAILS" WHICH APPEARED IN EARLIER DRAFT (REF D).

--PARA 3, THREE BRACKETED SUBPARAS REFLECTING US PROPOSAL ON DEFENSE COOPERATION.

IN INITIAL DISCUSSION OF THIS SUB-PARA, US REP EXPLAINED IN DETAIL REASONS FOR INCLUDING SUBSTANTIAL REFERENCE IN THE COMMUNIQUE TO REFLECT PROPOSALS IN THE PRESIDENT'S

SPEECH, WHICH WAS THE RESULT OF INTENSIVE HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES THAT HAD ELICITED A BROAD FAVORABLE REACTION. US REP NOTED OUR READINESS TO WORK WITH THE ALLIES ON COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE SETTING FORTH THESE INITIATIVES, BUT, IN DOING SO, NOTED THE UNDERSTANDING THAT WE HAD SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT TO THEIR INCLUSION.

FOLLOWING INITIAL REVIEW OF ORIGINAL US TEXT ON DEFENSE COOPERATION AND FORMULATIONS CONTAINED IN THE INTERIM DRAFT (REF C), US REP INTRODUCED AND EXPLAINED THE COMBINED TEXT (PARA 4, REF A) WHICH ACCOMMODATED

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FRENCH PROPOSALS ON DEFENSE EQUIPMENT. FRG, UK, ITALIAN, AND MOST OTHER SPC REPS WELCOMED THE COMBINED TEXT SUGGESTED BY THE US, SAID THEY BELIEVED IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEIR AUTHORITIES, AND URGED FRENCH REP TO ACCEPT THIS TEXT IN LIGHT OF FLEXIBILITY AND ACCOMMODATION TOWARD FRENCH PROPOSALS DEMONSTRATED BY WASHINGTON. PORTUGUESE REP RESERVED HIS POSITION, AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD FEEL THIS TEXT COULD EXPOSE NATO TO CRITICISM BY WARSAW PACT THAT NATO COUNTRIES WERE ATTEMPTING TO ASSUAGE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES BY SPURRING MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION. DUTCH AND NORWEGIAN REPS WELCOMED COMBINED TEXT BUT NOTED SENSITIVITY THEIR AUTHORITIES MIGHT HAVE TO EMPHASIS ON PROMOTING ARMAMENTS INDUSTRIES IN EUROPE.

FRENCH REP EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR US EFFORTS TO ACCOMMODATE FRENCH PROPOSALS, BUT SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD

STILL HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITH COMBINED TEXT. CENTRAL
POINTS IN HIS EXTENSIVE ARGUMENTATION WERE THAT
WHEREAS COMBINED TEXT STILL CONVEYED AN INCORRECT
IMPRESSION THAT A TWO-WAY STREET IN DEFENSE TRADE COULD
READILY BE ACHIEVED, FRENCH BELIEVE TWO-WAY STREET WOULD
ONLY BE POSSIBLE FOLLOWING SIGNIFICANT STRENGTHENING
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OF EUROPEAN CAPABILITIES. FRENCH REP THEN TABLED A
"COMPROMISE" SUGGESTED TEXT STATING THAT "COOPERATION
BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US COULD NOT DEVELOP IN THE DESIRED
CONDITIONS, THAT IS IN A BALANCED WAY, EXCEPT TO THE
DEGREE THAT THERE IS ESTABLISHED IN EUROPE A STRONG
INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY INDISPENSABLE TO
THE COMMON DEFENSE". US REP SUPPORTED BY MOST OTHERS
POINTED OUT DEFECTS OF THIS PROPOSAL, WHICH FRENCH REP
EVENTUALLY WITHDREW.

OUTCOME OF SPC DISCUSSION WAS DECISION TO INCLUDE IN THE
REVISED DRAFT THE US COMBINED TEXT (FIRST EITHER SUB-
PARA), THE ORIGINAL FRENCH PROPOSAL (FIRST OR SUB-PARA),
WHICH OTHER REPS DID NOT SUPPORT BUT WAS INCLUDED AT
FRENCH REP'S INSISTENCE, AND (AS SECOND OR SUB-PARA) A
PASSAGE REPRESENTING FRENCH REP'S EFFORT IN NEGOTIATION
WITH SPC TO DEVELOP FORMULATIONS THAT FRENCH REP BELIEVED
WERE THE MAXIMUM HIS AUTHORITIES COULD ACCEPT.
MAJORITY OF SPC REPS THOUGHT THEIR AUTHORITIES WOULD BE
PREPARED TO ACCEPT A FORMULATION ALONG THE LINES OF THIS
SUB-PARA IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE LANGUAGE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL
15 ALLIES. PORTUGUESE REP REPEATED HIS OBJECTION. US
REP, WHILE SEEKING TO MAKE COMPROMISE TEXT AS ACCEPTABLE
AS POSSIBLE, AFFIRMED PREFERENCE FOR US COMBINED
TEXT WHICH HE NOTED HAD MET WITH BROAD SUPPORT AND HAD
ENDEAVORED TO TAKE FRENCH CONCERNS INTO ACCOUNT.

IN FIRST SENTENCE OF THIS SECOND OR SUB-PARA, FRENCH REP
BRACKETED WORD "MORE"; FRENCH REP PREFERRED BRACKETED
PHRASE "IN THE FIELD OF ARMAMENTS", WHILE ALL OTHERS
PREFERRED BRACKETED PHRASE "ON RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT,
PRODUCTION, AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT". IN
SECOND SENTENCE PHRASE " WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR COLLECTIVE
DEFENSE AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BALANCED RELATIONSHIP
IN TH PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT" REFLECTS AN EFFORT
BY SOME SPC REPS TO MEET FRENCH POINT THAT A BALANCED
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RELATIONSHIP WILL DEPEND ON PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIAL-TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY IN EUROPE. IN THIS SENTENCE, FRENCH REP STRONGLY RESISTED INCLUSION OF WORDS "IN NORTH AMERICA". ALSO IN THIS SENTENCE FRENCH REP OBJECTED TO ANY DIRECT REFERENCE TO "TWO-WAY STREET" ON GROUNDS THAT HIS AUTHORITIES CONSIDERED IT A CATCH PHRASE ASSOCIATED WITH WELL-KNOWN AND UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO DEVELOP A BALANCED US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP IN DEFENSE EQUIPMENT PROCUREMENT. IN THIRD SENTENCE, FRENCH REP MAINTAINED HIS AUTHORITIES COULD NOT ACCEPT "BOTH WITHIN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA"; OTHERS TRIED TO REFLECT THIS CONCEPT IN WORDS "THIS COOPERATION" THAT REFER TO PREVIOUS SENTENCE.

COMMENT: WE ANTICIPATE THAT THIS SUB-PARA WILL BE THE THORNIEST ISSUE AT MAY 9 SPC MEETING. MOST SPC REPS WILL ATTEMPT TO PROMOTE LANGUAGE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE US AND FRANCE. WE SUGGEST WASHINGTON REVIEW SECOND OR SUB-PARA WITH VIEW TO DETERMINING WHICH ELEMENTS MIGHT BE INCORPORATED INTO US COMBINED EITHER SUB-PARA IN ORDER TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE FRENCH ON THIS PASSAGE. END COMMENT.

--PARA 3, FINAL SUB-PARA. THIS IS FIRST SENTENCE OF ORIGINAL US PROPOSAL FOR DEFENSE COOPERATION SECTION. FOLLOWING STRONG PRESENTATION BY US REP ON NEED TO INCLUDE THIS SENTENCE, FRENCH REP EVENTUALLY AGREED, AT SUGGESTION OF OTHER SPC MEMBERS, TO INCLUDE THIS SENTENCE AS A SEPARATE SUB-PARA AT THE END OF PARA 3.

FIRST BRACKETED PHRASE "INITIATE AN EXAMINATION IN THE

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LONGER TERM OF" WAS INCLUDED ON THE INSISTENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS REP, WITH SOME SUPPORT FROM OTHERS, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE US PREFERRED PHRASE IN BRACKETS "DEVELOP A LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE" COULD BE MISINTERPRETED SINCE NATO ALREADY HAS LONG-TERM PLANS. US REP FIRMLY SUPPORTED US LANGUAGE, EMPHASIZING (PER PARA 7, REF A) NEED FOR INCISIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE PLANNING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS TO DEAL WITH IT. NETHERLANDS REP AGREED ON SUBSTANCE, BUT INSISTED US LANGUAGE WOULD NOT CONVEY DESIRED IMPRESSION. NETHERLANDS REP SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED US THAT HE IS LIKELY TO ADVANCE, AT THE MAY 9 SPC MEETING, A PHRASE ON THIS POINT ALONG THE LINES OF "WORK TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MORE COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR DEFENSE PLANNING INCORPORATING A LONGER TERM APPROACH TO". COMMENT: IF WE ARE ADAMANT, DUTCH AND OTHERS MIGHT ACCEPT US FORMULATION. HOWEVER, WASHINGTON SHOULD CONSIDER POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES. END COMMENT.

--PARA 4, THIRD SENTENCE ON SALT. FRENCH REP RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO WORDS "FIRMLY SUPPORT", BUT THOUGHT HIS AUTHORITIES MIGHT WISH TO REPLACE THEM WITH "WARMLY WELCOME". ON GRAMMATICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS, FRENCH REP, WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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SUPPORT FROM MOST OTHERS, CHANGED CONCLUDING PHRASE FROM ", HAVING IN MIND ALLIED INTERESTS" TO "WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT ALLIED INTERESTS".

--PARA 4, SUB-PARA ON MBFR. UK REP INSISTED ON REFERENCE TO DECEMBER 1975 OFFER. FRG REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES INSISTED ON COMPREHENSIVE, STANDARD COVERAGE OF ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR, BECAUSE, IN FRG VIEW, THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION AT VIENNA MAKES IT IMPERATIVE THAT THE ALLIES REAFFIRM TO THE EAST IN THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE THE EXISTING WESTERN POSITION. BRACKETED PHRASE "AND THE REDUCTION OF THE DISPARITY IN TANKS" WAS INCLUDED AT FRG INSISTANCE, WITHOUT STRONG OBJECTION OR SUPPORT FROM OTHERS. FRENCH REP SUGGESTED THAT WORDS "THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES" REPLACE WORDS "ALLIES CONCERNED" IN EARLIER DRAFTS; FRENCH REP MAINTAINED HIS AUTHORITIES WERE "CONCERNED" ABOUT MBFR (NOTE: WORD "CONCERNED" FOLLOWING WORDS "PARTICIPATING ALLIES" IS INCLUDED IN THIS DRAFT THROUGH ERROR BY IS AND SHOULD BE DELETED).

--PARA 5, PASSAGE ON BERLIN. NEITHER FRG NOR OTHERS COMMENTED ON BERLIN PASSAGE AT MAY 5 SPC MEETING. COMMENT: IN LONDON, US OFFICIALS IN COOPERATION WITH UK, FRG, AND FRENCH SPC REPS, SHOULD PROVIDE THIS LANGUAGE TO OTHER ALLIED SPC REPS AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE MAY 9. END COMMENT.

--PARA 6 ON CSCE. PER REF B, US REP ARGUED VIGOROUSLY IN FAVOR OF A STRONG PARA ON THIS SUBJECT BEFORE THE BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING BEGINS, AND URGED SPC REPS TO ACCEPT US PREFERRED FORMULATIONS.

FIRST BRACKETED PASSAGE NOTING UNSATISFACTORY PROGRESS WAS SUPPORTED BY US, NETHERLANDS, BELGIAN, ITALIAN, PORTUGUESE, AND UK REPS. SECOND BRACKETED PASSAGE WAS SUPPORTED BY FRENCH, CANADIAN, DANISH, NORWEGIAN AND TURKISH REPS.

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BRACKETED SENTENCE BEGINNING "TO THIS END" WAS INCLUDED BY THE IS TO REFLECT PREVIOUS US SUGGESTION. US REP MADE CLEAR, HOWEVER (PER REF B), THAT IN ABSENCE OF SUPPORT AMONG ALLIES WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DROP THIS FORMULATION PROVIDED SPC AGREED TO INSERT IN THE PRECEDING SENTENCE FOLLOWING THE WORDS "THE FINAL ACT" THE PHRASE "FOR CONSIDERING HOW TO ACHIEVE FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE PART OF ALL PARTICIPANTS." US REP EXPLAINED THAT AT A MINIMUM WE WANTED A PHRASE THAT INDIRECTLY REFLECTED THE IDEA THAT FURTHER PROGRESS CAN BE MADE THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS. OTHER REPS OBJECTED EVEN MORE STRONGLY TO INDIRECTLY REFLECTING THIS IDEA, IN A MANNER THEY CONSIDERED MISLEADING AND POSSIBLY CONFUSING, THAN TO ORIGINAL US SENTENCE.

US REP SOUGHT DELETION OF PHRASE "WILL PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND." WHILE SOME SUPPORTED DELETION, SEVERAL WANTED TO RETAIN THIS PHRASE WHICH REMAINS IN BRACKETS.

US REP ARGUED VIGOROUSLY (PER PARA 7, REF B) FOR INCLUSION OF LANGUAGE INDICATING THAT THE DEGREE OF CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION STEPS THAT STATES HAVE TAKEN WOULD HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE PROCEEDINGS AT BELGRADE. THERE WAS NO SUPPORT, AND VIRTUALLY ALL SPC REPS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED ANY SUCH FORMULATION ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD BE A CLUMSY ATTEMPT TO PUT THE EASTERN EUROPEANS ON THE SPOT, THAT THE TIME IS TOO SHORT BEFORE BELGRADE TO ELICIT MEANINGFUL ACTION BY EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN RESPONSE AND THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO PROMPT SUDDEN PRE-

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BELGRADE STEPS BY THE EAST, BUT SHOULD RATHER PRESS FOR
STEADY LONG-TERM IMPLEMENTATION.

--PARA 7, SUB-PARA ON ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
NORWEGIANS AND FEW OTHERS WHO WANT TO INCLUDE THIS SUB-
PARA ATTEMPTED TO DEVELOP NEW FORMULATION TO MEET
OBJECTIONS. HOWEVER, CANADIAN AND FEW OTHER SPC REPS
CONTINUE TO PREFER DELETION.BENNETT

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